2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are told for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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few restrictions are placed
upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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524 857 pots, and wooden and stone implements, made by themselves or by their elders especially for them. They construct play-houses after the fashion of dwellings, and often make small fish corrals like those used by their elders. The boys also make toy fish-nets and gigs, and still use the blow-gun as a plaything, although this old type of hunting weapon is now rarely used by the men.

The nearest approach to a game among the Cayapa, either among the children or among the older people, is that which the boys play with their musical tops, although this is not at all a game of chance. The floors of the Cayapa houses, being made of undressed palm-wood, are always too rough for the spinning of tops, and the ground is always too wet. Therefore, to provide a spinning surface, a large mat is spread upon the floor, or a manta or other piece of cloth is stretched tightly over the legs of a boy seated flat upon the floor. Then he, with usually another boy, spins the tops in opposition one to another, the point of the play being to see what top can knock the other from the spinning surface. There is no scoring in this amusement, and the whole pleasure of it is derived from the spinning of the tops and especially from watching them collide with one another. Often two boys are able to keep four or five tops spinning at the same time, so that their collisions create a lively scene and furnish much pleasure to the onlookers as well as to those engaged in the spinning. The spinning is usually done with the hands alone, although sometimes, if a very rapid

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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the machete is mounted (pl. LXXXIII, 7). Practically the only difference between this object and a seat such as that shown in fig. 6 of the same plate, is in the presence of the handle at one end. Both the whetstone base and the wooden seat is called tcûmbûʼlya.

The whetstones, called tôlaʼha, are made of a fine-grained sandstone and are purchased from the settlements down the river. A stone of almost any size is used, but one six by eight or ten inches is most usually employed. It is not fastened to the base, but simply rests upon it in order to bring the stone a few inches from the floor and to make it possible to place the hands on either side lower than the stone when necessary. With this simple apparatus and a hemispherical calabash of water to wet the stone a man will sit and sharpen machetes for a couple of hours at a time, especially when the cane-field is being cleaned or a new area in the bush is being cleared.

In fig. 1 of the plate last referred to is shown another wooden object similar in form to the seats. This is the special wooden base used as a rest upon which to set an earthenware pot as it is being coiled and shaped. Ordinarily these bases consist merely of a flat board of rectangular form. The one here shown is much more elaborate, being circular in outline and having four legs which slant outward from its perimeter; it is also hewn from a single block of wood, as are all the objects represented in this plate.

Another interesting class of wooden objects is dolls, called nawaʼwa, made for the amusement of children.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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These are carved from single blocks of wood and represent a variety of animate objects. Chief among them are human figures, both male and female; next follow mammals and birds, and now and then alligators are represented. In pl. LXXXIV, 1 to 5, are shown typical dolls representing human figures. The simplest of these, shown in fig. 4, is a cylindrical block of wood with carved head and face. From such simple forms dolls range through various stages of detail to well-carved figures such as that shown in fig. 5, in which the parts of the body are carefully represented and an attempt is made to imitate the cropped hair of the men by carving a raised band about the head, although the doll is evidently intended to represent a woman. The fact that the hair is thus represented is perhaps due to the inability of the workman to carve the long flowing hair of a woman.

Animals and birds of various kinds are carved more or less perfectly. Examples of these are shown in pl. LXXXIV, figs. 6 and 8. Fig. 7 of this plate represents a well-made figure of an alligator. Some of the figures, as for instance this alligator, are made of very hard wood, dressed and smoothly rubbed.

Dolls are about the only playthings, other than small pots, baskets, and other utensils, that the children have, for, as already stated, the Cayapa have practically no games.

In pl. LXI are shown several implements of wood, all of which are used primarily in cooking. In figs. 1 to 5 are illustrated typical mashers, called matcō'ka,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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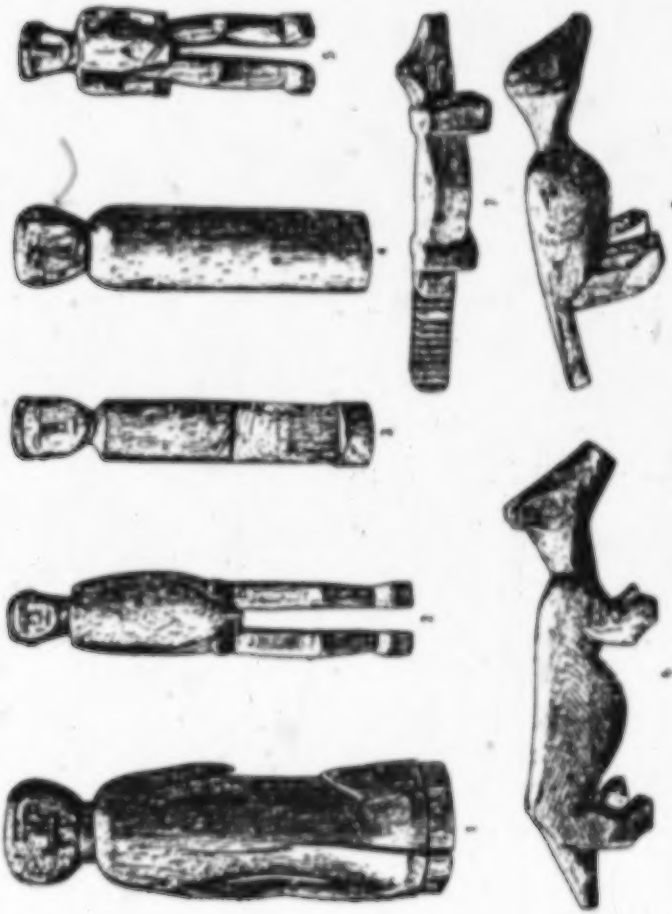

PL. LXXXIV

CARVED WOODEN TOYS

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 162(A)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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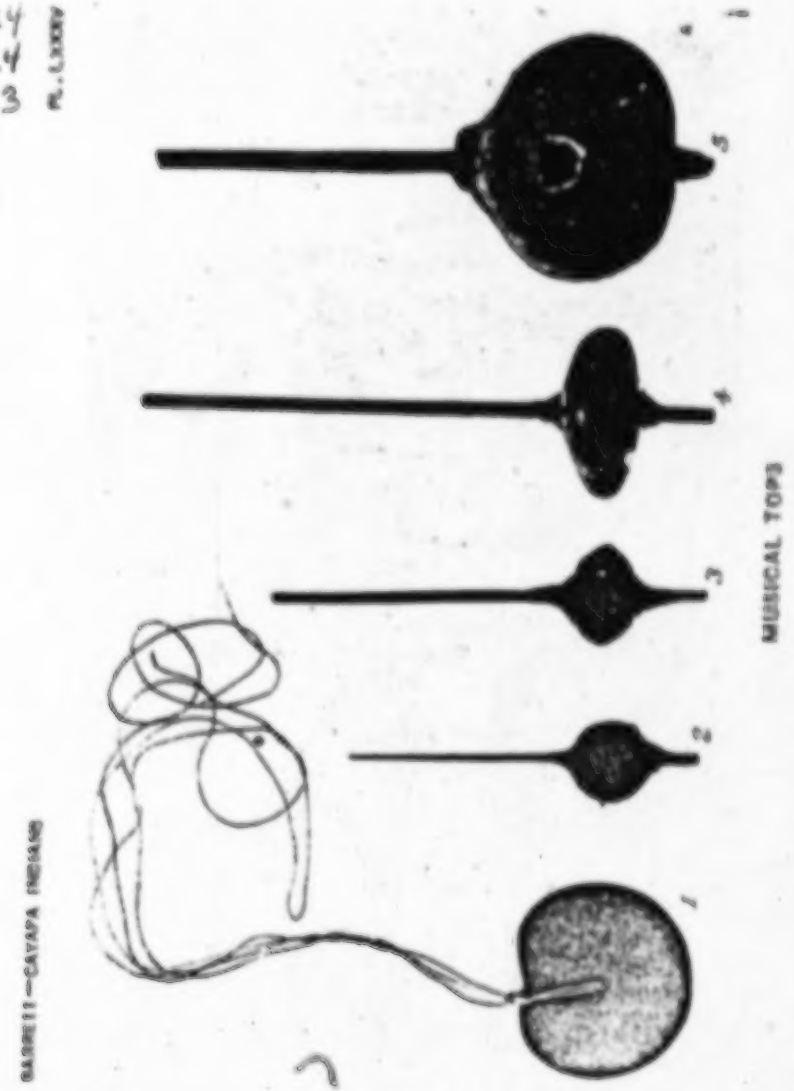

p. 162 (H)

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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designed for their own use. In every instance these old-type designs are geometric, but the newer ones are usually realistic, depicting mammals, human beings, and other realistic objects.

In carving, the dolls are entirely realistic, as is shown in pl. LXXXIV, and depicting, the dog, alligator, bird, and especially the human form. In the last instance care is usually taken to indicate the sex. In paddle handles, on the other hand, the forms are usually simple and are always geometric, as is shown in pl. LXXVI. They have no special names. Even in the case of the elaborately carved handle shown in fig. 9 of the plate, no name was given for any of the designs. The same holds true of the designs in the face-painting sticks depicted in pl. CXXI–CXXII.

Closely related to ornamental carving are the wooden seats shown in pl. LXXXIII, some of which receive ornamental treatment certainly not demanded by utilitarian considerations. From comparison with similar objects of South and Central America it seems probable that in these seats, especially the forms shown in figs. 2 and 3, there lies a striking connection of the Cayapa culture with that of a number of other tribes in these regions. As has been shown by Professor Saville,[15] the archeological range of these objects is extensive, the most elaborate among them being the large stone seats from Manabi, carved to represent jaguars.

On the surfaces of calabash utensils are found the only incised designs in use among the Cayapa. These are

[15] See page 156, note.

to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kakúle/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). 000

Dolls: /náwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

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At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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now." "Who will take care of the children now that my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and, above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard by the people who are waiting up and down the river, they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the room while the men congregate near the drums and marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone. The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes animated as this goes on, and all this while the mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be played by the men and boys, and this is the only time that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa. There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at funerals although they may not all be pursued at any one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúŭi/ 'plantain money,' however, is always included. A description of this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut into slices which are said to be money /luŭi/, and one

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piece is cut in a rectangular form like a domino, and three holes are made on each side. The one who cut the "coins" is said to be the owner of the domino which is called /lúši yá?ma/. The boys and young men who are playing this game sit in a circle face to back. The "coins" are piled up on the floor in the middle of the group. The owner of the domino passes to the one sitting next to him on either the front or to the rear. The chip is passed around full circle and then the owner passes it around in the opposite direction. This is done about five times, and then it is passed down one man at a time. With each pass the passer picks up a "coin" and if he wishes to "cheat," he may pick up more than one. Cheating of this kind is the source of good-natured joshing and shoving. When all of the "coins" are gone, the players count up their winnings, and then everyone puts his pile of plantain slices back into the center of the circle, and the whole process is repeated. This is most definitely not a contest of skill or strategy, but they seem to enjoy it, and it is repeated for an indefinite period. The only difference noted is that, as the game continues,

the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúši/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /úliŋgayéči kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /čaʔna kénu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

'no gloss' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be

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considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin.

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta kénu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay ya se fué muluta yaye llegue muluta talatʸumbi iškʷande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery.

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Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

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